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# Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 208016

42
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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 208016

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO VIENTIANE PHNOM PENH
SAIGON RANGOON KUALA LUMPUR MANILA JAKARTA TAIPEI SINGAPORE
PARIS CANBERRA WELLINGTON KATHMANDU CHIAN MAI UDORN CINCPAC
DIA SECDEF USSAF NKP AND 13TH ADVON UDORN FROM BANGKOK
OCT 17 REPEATED HONG KONG LONDON MOSCOW NEW DELHI SEOUL TOKYO
PEKING NATO FROM SECSTATE AS MRN 208016

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L BANGKOK 16274

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS : PINS, TH
SUBJECT : SUMMARY OF EVENTS LEADING TO THE DOWNFALL OF THE
THANOM GOVERNMENT

REF : BANGKOK 16206, 161355Z OCT 73

BEGIN SUMMARY. THE ARREST OF 13 STUDENTS AND FORMER POLITICIANS
CALLING FOR THE EARLY PROCLAMATION OF A NEW
CONSTITUTION TOUCHED OFF STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS ON OCTOBER 7.
THE RTG HAD APPARENTLY HOPED THAT PLACING CHARGES OF COMMUNIST
CONSPIRACH AND TREASON AGAINST THE GROUP WOULD STYMIE THE CONS-
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PAGE 02 STATE 208016

TITUTIONAL MOVEMENT. THE RTG, HOWEVER, MISCALCULATED THE DEPTH OF

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

STUDENT FEELING AND POPULAR SUPPORT FOR THE STUDENTS. ONCE THE
RTG AND THE STUDENTS ENTERED NEGOTIATIONS, QUICK, MINIMAL RTG
CONCESSIONS DID NOT MATERIALIZE. INEPT AND TARDY ANNOUNCEMENT
BY THE RTG OF THE SATURDAY NOON AGREEMENT FOR THE DETAINEES'
UNCONDITIONAL RELAESE, AND OF A CONSTITUTION BY OCTOBER 1974,
RESULTED IN THE STUDENTS TAKING TO THE STREETS. BY THE TIME A
SECOND AGREEMENT WAS REACHED, STUDENT LEADERS COULD NOT CONTROL
ALL THE DEMONSTRATORS. ALTHOUGH SOME STUDENTS OBEYED NSCT LEADERS
AND DISPERSED, ADVENTUROUS BYSTANDERS, AND UNDISCIPLINED
VOCATIONAL STUDENTS REMAINED ON THE SCENE. SCUFFLING AND
HOLLIGANISM DURING THE MORNING HOURS OF OCTOBER 14 DEGENERATED
INTO ARMED COMBAT AGAINST RTG SECURITY FORCES AFTER STUDENT
CASUALTIES ENRAGED THE RIOTERS. DESPITE APPEALS FROM STUDENT
LEADERS, THE KING AND THE RTG, MOBS REFUSED TO STOP ATTACKING
RTG FACILITIES. THOUGH THE EXACT CAUSE AND EFFECT RELATIONSHIPS
REMAIN UNCLEAR, THE DECLINE OF VIOLENCE IN BANGKOK COINCIDED
QUITE CLOSELY WITH THE PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT SHORTLY AFTER 1800
HOURS ON OCTOOER 15 THAT THANOM, PRAPHAT, AND NARONG "HAD LEFT"
THAILAND. ALTHOUGH THEY HAD NOT YET ACTUALLY LEFT, THE REPORT WAS
WIDELY BELIEVED AT THE TIME AND CALM DESCENDED RAPIDLY OVER
OANGKOK. END SUMMARY.

1. THE ROOTS OF STUDENT AND POPULAR DISSATISFACTION WITH THE
THANOM GOVERNMENT ARE COVERED IN REF A AND OTHER EMBASSY
REPORTING. THE SERIES OF EVENTS WHICH LED TO THE FALL OF PRIME
MINISTER THANOM KITTIKACHORN BEGAN WITH THIRAYUDH BOONMEE,
FORMER SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE NATIONAL STUDENT CENTER OF THAILAND
(NSCT) ANNOUNCING THAT A POPULAR MOVEMENT TO PETITION FOR THE
EARLY PROMULGATION OF A CONSTITUTION HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED. AN
ORGANIZATIONAL MEETING WAS HELD IN CENTRAL BANGKOK AND A LIST
OF 100 PETITIONERS, INCLUDING THANOM'S YOUNGER BROTHER, A
RETIRED POLICE MAJOR GENERAL AND FORMER DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER,
WAS PUBLICLY RELEASED ON FRIDAY OCTOBER 5.

2. ON SATURDAY, OCTOBER 6, THE POLICE ARRESTED 11 OF THE ORGANIZERS
WHILE THEY WERE DISTRIBUTING PAMPHLETS AND SEARCHED THEIR ROOMS
IN WHATQS OBVIOUSLY INTENDED AS A PRE-EMPTIVE STRIKE AGAINST
THE MOVEMENT. INITIALLY DETAINED ON THE GROUNDS OF VIOLATING AN
AN EMERGENCY REGULATION PROHIBITING PUBLIC GATHERINGS OF MORE
THAN FIVE PERSONS, DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER PRAPHAT ANNOUNCED ON
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OCTOOER 9 THAT EVIDENCE HADHBEEN UNCOVERED OF A PLOT TO OVERTHROW
THE GOVERNMENT. HE ANNOUNCED THAT THE GROUP WAS THEREFORE
BEING HELD UNDER ARTICLE 17 WHICH PERMITS INDEFINITE DETENTION.
BY THAT TIME THE NUMBER OF DETAINEES HAD RISEN TO 13 WITH THE
ARREST OF ANOTHER PERSON AND SURRENDER OF FORMER MEMBER OF
PARLIAMENT KHAISAENG SUKSAI.

3. ALTHOUGH ONLY FIVE OF THE DETAINEES WERE CURRENTLY STUDENTS,

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN THE BANGKOK AREA HELD DAY-TIME, HYDE PARK DEMONSTRATIONS SUPPORTING THE DETAINEES BEGINNING OCTOOER 7. PROFESSORS AND LECTURERS ALSO SUPPORTED THE STUDENTS' VIEWS. IN UNCOMMON SOLIDARITY WITH THE STUDENTS, 117 UNIVERSITY LECTURERS SIGNED AN APPEAL ASKING FOR THE RELAESE OF THE DETAINEES. SINCE EXAMINATIONS WERE IN PROGRESS AT MOST UNIVERSITIES, HOWEVER, OBSERVERS EXPECTED THE STUDENTS TO CONCENTRATE ON THEIR STUDIES INSTEAD OF POLITICAL ACTIVISM.

4. AFTER SOME INITIAL HESITATION THE NSCT, WHICH HAD BEEN ENGAGED IN PREPARING ITS OWN DRAFT CONSTITUTION AND HAD DEMANDED A DECEMBER 1973 PROMULGATION DATE, TOOK UP THE CAUSE OF THE DETAINEES. AS MORE AND MORE STUDENTS GATHERED AT THAMMASAT UNIVERSITY UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF THE NSCT, THE RALLIES BECAME BIGGER AND CONTINUED AROUND THE CLOCK. THE NSCT EXHIBITED GOOD DISCIPLINE AND ORGANIZATION, INCLUDING FOOD PROCUREMENT AND BASIC HEALTH FACILITIES. ALTHOUGH SOME OF THE ORATORY WAS FIERY, THE NSCT STRESSED NON-VIOLENCE AND LOYALTY TO THE KING AND THE BUDDHIST RELIGION. THE STUDENT DEMAND ENJOYED A BASIC POPULARITY WITH THE URBAN POPULACE. THE STUDENTS' GOOD DEPORTMENT ELICITED GROWING SYMPATHY AND SUPPORT FROM THE BANGKOK PUBLIC, WHICH FROM THE BEGINNING HAD FREELY CONTRIBUTED MONEY AND FOOD TO THE THRONG AT THAMMASAT.

5. CONCERNED ABOUT THE GROWING DEMONSTRATION AND THE POSS-IBILITY OF VIOLENCE, THE KING HAD AN AUDIENCE WITH THANOM AND PRAPHAT ON OCTOBER 10 TO PRESS FOR A RELAXATION OF THE RTG HARD LINE AND A COMPROMISE WITH THE STUDENTS FOR THE RELEASE OF THE DETAINEES.

6.ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER 11, THE GOVERNMENT RELEASED FURTHER INFORMATION ABOUT THE DOCUMENTS SEIZED AS EVIDENCE THAT THE ACCUSED HAD COMMUNIST CONNECTIONS, BUT THIS CONFIDENTIAL



PRESENTATION WAS UNCONVINCING TO THE PUBLIC AND TO MOST INFORMED OBSERVERS. PRAPHAT MET WITH THE STUDENT LEADERS IN AN UNPRODUCTIVE SESSION. IN A PRESS INTERVIEW, HOWEVER, HE OFFERED A CONSTITUTION IN 20 MONTHS. STUDENT RANKS AT THAMMASAT UNI-VERSITY SWELLED AND AN ESTIMATED 20,000 REMAINED THROUGH THE NIGHT. ON FRIDAY MORNING THE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS WERE JOINED BY GROUPS OF TECHNICAL STUDENTS WITH A REPUTATION FOR HOOLIGANISM, WHO OFFERED TO ACT AS "SHOCK TROOPS" AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT. DEMONSTRATORS NOW NUMBERED 40 TO 50 THOUSAND.

7. ON FRIDAY NOON, OCTOBER 12, THE NSCT PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED THAT IT HAD PRESENTED PRAPHAT WITH AN ULTIMATUM: UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE OF THE 13 DETAINEES WITHIN 24 HOURS, OR THE NSCT WOULD CONSIDER TAKING DRASTIC ACTION. AFTER INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS, THE GOVERNMENT THAT EVENING OFFERED TO RELEASE 12 OF THE DE-

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

TAINEES, EXLUDING KHAISAENG, ON BAIL. THE NSCT EVENTUALLY RE-
JECTED THE OFFER BECAUSE IT ALLOWED THE CHARGES OF TREASON
TO STAND. NEVERTHELESS A DONOR CAME FORWARD WITH THE BAIL,
AND THE POLICE THREW THE DETAINEES OUT OF JAIL AT NOON ON
OCTOBER 13 IN THE NAIVE BELIEF THAT THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE
NSCT ULTIMATUM COULD BE AVOIDED . THE NSCT LEADERS INDEED STUCK
TO THEIR DEMAND THAT THE TREASON CHARGES BE DROPPED.

8. SHORTLY AFTER THE NOON DEADLINE, PRAPHAT, NOW TRYING TO HEAD
OFF A CONFRONTATION, MET WITH THE NSCT LEADERS AND OFFERED THE
UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE OF THE 13 DETAINEES AND THE PROMULGATION
OF A NEW CONSTITUTION WITHIN 13 MONTHS. THE STUDENT LEADERS
SIGNED AN AGREEMENT WITH PRAPHAT AND RETURNED TO RELATE THE TERMS
TO THEIR COLLEAGUES. HOWEVER, THE LATE HOUR OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS
AND THE LACK OF AN IMMEDIATE PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT MEANT THAT SOME
75,000 WELL-ORGANIZED STUDENTS HAD ALREADY MOVED FROM THE THAMMASAT
UNIVERSITY CAMPUS TO THE BROAD AVENUE CONTAINING DEMOCRACY MONUMENT
WHERE THEY LISTENED TO A SUCCESSION OF SPEAKERS. THROUGHOUT THE
AFTERNOON THE STUDENTS MAINTAINED EXCELLENT DISCIPLINE. THEY HAD
DESIGNATED SOME TECHNICAL STUDENTS TO MAINTAIN SECURITY; THESE
IMMEDIATELY TAMPED DOWN THE SLIGHTEST DISPLAY OF OVEREXUBERANCE.

9. IN THE LATE AFTERNOON, HOWEVER, THE NSCT LEADERSHIP BEGAN TO
RUN INTO PROBLEMS OF CROWD CONTROL AND COMMUNICATION. THE PROBLEMS
WERE COMPLICATED BY A GOVERNMENT DESCRIPTION OF THE NOON MEETING,
NOT BROADCAST UNTIL 1630, WHICH SAID THAT THE NSCT LEADERS WHO MET
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PAGE 05  STATE  208016

WITH PRAPHAT ASKED FOR THE RELEASE OF THE 13 DETAINEES. THE BROAD-
CAST QUOTED PRAPHAT AS AGREEING TO A COMPROMISE ON THE CONDITION THAT
THE STUDENTS "COMPLETELY DISBAND THE DEMONSTRATION AND DROP ALL
PRESENT DEMANDS." NO MENTION WAS MADE OF THE CONSTITUTION. STUDENT
LEADERS APPARENTLH REGARDED THIS ANNOUNCEMENT AS A SIGN OF RTG BREACH
OF TRUST. PART OF THE DEMONSTRATORS BEGAN MARCHING TOWARD GOVERNMENT
HOUSE AT 1730. MEANWHILE, NSCT LEADERS MET WITH THE KING, AND AROUND
1900 RECONFIRMED THE TERMS OF THE NOON AGREEMENT WITH PRAPHAT. STUDEN
T
LEADERS ATTEMPTED TO INFORM THE HUGE CROWD OF THE FINAL AGREEMENT,
BUT THEY PHYSICALLY COULD NOT GET CONVINCING WORD TO ALL PARTS OF
THE CROWD. THE UPSHOT WAS THAT AT NIGHTFALL ON OCTOBER 13, AND
THROUGH THE NIGHT, PARTS OF THE THRONG WERE UNCONVINCED THAT THE
STUDENTS' DEMANDS HAD BEEN MET.

10. SOME OF THE DEMONSTRATORS OBEYED NSCT APEALS AND DISPERSED.
VARIOUS FACTORS PROBABLY MOTIVATED THE REMAINING DEMONSTRATORS TO
CROWD THE STREETS AROUND THE DEMOCRACY MONUMENT. MANY EVIDENTLY
STILL MISTRUSTED THE GOVERNMENT'S PROMISES. ACTIVIST LEADERS
APPARENTLY RAISED THE DEMAND FOR FURTHER GOVERNMENT CONCESSIONS,
INCLUDING THE RESIGNATION OF PRAPHAT AND/OR THANOM. OTHERS MAY HAVE
STAYED OUT FOR THE ADVENTURE, FOR THE MOONLIGHT, OR FOR THE

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

OPPORTUNITY FOR MISCHIEF, SINCE ISOLATED INCIDENTS OF VANDALISM
WERE REPORTED DURING THE NIGHT. POLICE ON HAND WERE UNDER ORDERS
NOT TO INTERFERE AND THEY ACTED WITH DISCRETION THROUGH SATURDAY
NIGHT.

11. EARLY SUNDAY MORNING VIOLENCE APPEARED FOR THE FIRST TIME IN
WIDELY SCATTERED AREAS. NEAR THE ROYAL PALACE STRAGGLERS CONFRONTED
EXHAUSTED POLICE AT APPROXIMATELY 0600. TEAR GAS WAS USED, AND
THERE ARE REPORTS THAT SOME SHOTS WERE HEARD, BUT WE CANNOT CON-
FIRM WHETHER THERE WERE ANY SERIOUS INJURIES, BUT THE
DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENSE TOLD US OCTOBER 17 THAT ONE STUDENT
WAS KILLED AS STUDENTS TRIED TO SCALE THE PALACE WALL TO AVOID
TEAR GAS. MEANWHILE NEAR THAMMASAT UNIVERSITY, A GROUP OF
HOOLIGANS ENTERED THE PUBLIC RELATIONS DEPARTMENT BUILDING,
BREAKING WINDOWS AND RANSACKING FILES AROUND 0800. AN ADJACENT
POLICE STATION WAS THREATENED BY THE MOB; SHOOTING BROKE OUT
AND THE POLICE CALLED FOR REINFORCEMENTS. MEANWHILE, RIGHTLY
OR WRONGLY, WORD SPREAD LIKE WILDFIRE THAT A STUDENT HAD
BEEN KILLED.
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12. IT IS UNCLEAR WHETHER THERE WERE ARMS IN THE CROWD AT THIS
TIME; WE SUSPECT THERE MAY HAVE BEEN A FEW WEAPONS AMONG THE ROUGHER
ELEMENTS, PERHAPS ZIP GUNS. IT IS ALSO UNCLEAR WHO FIRED FIRST;
WE SUSPECT THAT THE POLICE MAY HAVE FIRED WARNING SHOTS IN THE AIR
AS THE MOB THREATENED TO OVERWHELM THE STATION. THIS PERHAPS
DREW SOME RETURN FIRE FROM ZIP GUNS IN THE CROWD. REALIZING THEY
WERE BEING SHOT AT, THE POLICE IN DESPERATION MAY HAVE STARTED
FIRING INTO THE CROWD.

13. WHEN ARMY TROOPS AND SOME TANKS CAME BEFORE NOON THEY
REPORTEDLY INITIALLY FIRED WARNING SHOTS IN THE AIR. SOME TROOPS
MAY HAVE BEEN HIT BY STUDENTS' GUNS, OR POSSIBLY EVEN BY STRAY
BULLETS COMING FROM THE BESIEGED POLICE STATION, IN FRONT AND TO
THE LEFT OF WHERE THEY WERE DEPLOYED. THE TROOPS PANICKED AND
STARTED FIRING INTO THE CROWD CAUSING SIGNIFICANT CASUALTIES AND
INFLAMING MOB HYSTERIA. BY MID-AFTERNOON THE POLICE STATION WAS
ABANDONED, THE POLICE AND MILITARY TROOPS HAD WITHDRAWN FROM THE
DEMOCRACY MONUMENT AREA, A GROUP OF STUDENTS HAD LAID SIEGE TO THE
METROPOLITAN POLICE HEADQUARTERS NEARBY, WHILE THE NATIONAL LOTTERY,
REVENUE DEPARTMENT AND BIFGO BUILDINGS WERE IN FLAMES. DESPITE
APPEALS THERE NOW WAS NO REASONING WITH THE INFLAMED MOB.

14. AS BEST AS WE CAN TELL ARMY AND POLICE ELEMENTS INFLICTED
MOST OF THE CASUALTIES BETWEEN 1000 AND 1600 ON STUDENTS AND RIOTERS
AROUND THAMMASAT UNIVERSITY, THE PRAMANE GROUNDS AND THE ROYAL HOTEL.
THE POLICE TOOK THE BRUNT OF THE RIOTERS ATTACKS. INNOCENT STUDENTS
UNDER THE NSCT BECAME INVOLVED IN THE CONFLAGRATION BECAUSE THEY
WERE TRAPPED IN THE THAMMASAT CAMPUS WHERE THEY HAD SPENT THE NIGHT

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

SLEEPING OFF SATURDAY'S WEARINESS.

15. WHILE THE SEQUENCE OF MOVES IS UNCLEAR, IT APPEARS THAT THE KING AGAIN INTERVENED ON THE AFTERNOON OF OCTOBER 14 TO SUGGEST TO THANOM THAT HE SHOULD RESIGN AS PRIME MINISTER IN ORDER TO RESTORE ORDER; ANNOUNCEMENT WAS MADE BY RADIO AND TV AT SUNSET THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAD RESIGNED AND THAT THE KING HAD NAMED RESPECTED JUDGE AND THAMMASAT UNIVERSITY RECTOR DR. SANYA, AS THE NEW CIVILIAN PRIME MINISTER. EFFORTS TO PASS THIS WORD TO THE MOBS FAILED TO CLEAR THE STREETS; LATER IN THE EVENING, IN AN UNPRECEDENTED MOVE, THE KING HIMSELF MADE A TELEVISION APPEAL. PRIME MINISTER SANYA ALSO TOOK TO THE AIR WAVES TO RE-
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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 07 STATE 208016

ASSURE THE PEOPLE AND CALL FOR AN END TO THE DISTURBANCES. SANYA PROMISED A NEW CONSTITUTION WITHIN SIX MONTHS, EARLY POPULAR ELECTIONS, AND ORDERED GOVERNMENT OFFICES IN BANGKOK CLOSED FOR THREE DAYS.

16. AFTER MIDNIGHT FIELD MARSHAL THANOM, EXERCISING HIS PRE-ROGATIVE AS SUPREME COMMANDER, A POST WHICH HEHAD APPARENTLY RETAINEDN BROADCAST A HARD-LINE MESSAGE ORDERING DRASTIC MEASURES TO END THE VIOLENCE AND ATTACKS ON GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS. WILDER ELEMENTS FROM THE MOB HAD OBTAINED WEAPONS, FROM LOOTING GUN SHOPS AS WELL AS FROM THE OVERRUN POLICE STATION, AND CONTINUED THEIR SIEGE OF METROPOLITAN POLICE HEADQUARTERS. POLICE THERE RETURNED THE FIRE DURING THE MORNING HOURS, BUT WERE NOT REINFORCED; IN EARLY AFTERNOON ON OCTOBER 15 THE LAST POLICE ABANDONED THE HEADQUARTERS BUILDING, WHICH WAS THEN SET AFIRE BY THE ATTACKERS.

17. THE BURNING OF METROPOLITAN POLICE HEADQUARTERS MARKED THE END OF MAJOR VIOLENCE IN THE CITY; HAVING SPENT THEIR FURY THE RIOTERS DID NOT MOVE ON TO NEW TARGETS. BANGKOK, HOWEVER, WAS STILL FILLED WITH GROUPS OF YOUNG PEOPLE ON THE MARCH. POLICE AND MILITARY REMAINED LARGELY OUT OF SIGHT; GOVERN-MENT OFFICES, BANKS AND MOST SHOPS WERE CLOSED. STUDENTS COMMANDEERED BUSES TO MOVE AIMLESSLY ABOUT THE STREETS CHEERING AND CELEBRATING. RUMORS WERE RIFE AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC WAS VERY UNEARY.

18. LATE IN THE AFTERNOON OF OCTOBER 15 THE KING AND HIS NEW PRIME MINISTER EVIDENTLY DETERMINED THAT ONLY THE DEPARTURE OF THANOM, PRAPHAT, AND COLONEL NARONG WOULD RESOLVE THE CRISIS. THANOM AND PRAPHAT MAY ALSO HAVE REALIZED THAT THEY COULD NOT STAY ON WITHOUT ORDERING DRACONIAN MEASURES AND GENUINELY SHRANK FROM DOING VIOLENCE TO LARGE NUMBERS OF THEIR FELLOW THAI. THEY WERE ALSO PROBABLY FEARFUL OF THEIR OWN SAFETY. THEY MADE ARRANGEMENTS TO LEAVE. IN ANY CASE, BEGINNING SHORTLY AFTER 6 P.M. ANNOUNCEMENTS WERE BROADCAST THAT THEY HAD LEFT THE COUNTRY.

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

PRAPHAT AND NARONG ACTUALLY LEFT THAT NIGHT AT 9:45 P.M.
FOR TAIPEI. THANOM STAYED IN ABSOLUTE SECLUSION FOR 24 HOURS
AND LEFT FOR THE U.S., REPORTEDLY TO BOSTON.

19. THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THANOM'S AND PRAPHAT'S DEPARTURES HAD A
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PAGE 08 STATE 208016

MAGICAL EFFECT ON THE MASSES OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE STREETS. THE
KING'S MOTHER AND THE BUDDHIST SUPREME PATRIARCH APPEALED FOR ORDER.
THE NEW PRIME MINISTER APPEARED ON TELEVISION. THE STUDENT LEADERS
ALSO MADE THEIR TV SPEECHES AND ANNOUNCED THAT THE MALE LEADERS WERE
GOING INTO THE BUDDHIST MONKHOOD FOR A PERIOD. DESPITE THE LACK OF
NORMAL POLICE SECURITY, IT WAS A CALM NIGHT IN BANGKOK AND THE
PEOPLE OF THAILAND AWOKE ON THE MORNING OF OCTOBER 16
WITH AN APPARENT SENSE OF HAPPY RELIEF AT THE DAWN OF A
NEW ERA. THROUGHOUT THE EVENTS RECOUNTED ABOVE THERE WAS
SYMPATHY AND SUPPORT FOR THE NSCT BY THE GENERAL POPULACE,
WHICH WAS MANIFESTED BY GIFTS OF MONEH AND FOOD AS WELL AS
VOCAL ENCOURAGEMENT. AT ITS CONCLUSION, AND DESPITE SHOCK
OVER THE DEATHS THEN BELIEVED TO TOTAL ABOUT 300, THERE
WAS A SENSE OF EUPHROIA AMONG A MAJORITY OF THE PUBLIC, A FEELING
THAT FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THAILAND THE PEOPLE HAD EXERCISED
POLITICAL POWER AND THAT A NEW DAY HAD DAWNED IN THEIR HISTORY.

20.A FINAL COUNT OF THE TOTAL NUMBER KILLED ON BOTH SIDES
IS NOT YET IN, BUT IT SEEMS THAT IT WILL BE BETWEEN 50 AND
100.

21. IT IS NOT POSSIBLE AT THIS TIME TO IDENTIFY ANY ORGANIZED
COMMUNIST OR FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT IN THE VIOLENT ASPECTS OF THE
CRISIS. SOME OF THE ACTIVIST STUDENTS WERE POLITICAL
RADICALS, BUT WE HAVE NO CLEAR EVIDENCE AS YET OF TIES TO
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THAILAND OR OTHER ORGANIZED MOVEMENT.
THE ATTEMPTS BY THE THANOM GOVERNMENT FROM THE OEGINNING TO
CATEGORIZE ALL THE PROTESTORS, INCLUDING RECOGNIZED STUDENT
MODERATES, AS PART OF A COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY WAS, IN FACT, AN
IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN INFLAMING STUDENT OPINION AGAINST THE
GOVERNMENT.
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Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

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Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

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Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005